

Vladimir P. Goss

University of Rijeka
Faculty of Arts and Science

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Two St. Georges and the Earliest Slavic Cultural Landscape Between the Sava and the Drava Rivers

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The objective of this paper is to provide initial evidence for the pre-Christian, Early Slavic startum of cultural landscape in the area of the medieval Slavonia. Following upon the research of Croatian linguists (Katičić) and ethnologists (V. Belaj) the author proposes several sites in the landscape of Northwestern Croatia which, in his opinion, go back to pre-Christian times. First of all, those are the Trema area near Križevci, with the churches of Sv. Juraj in Đurđić and Sv. Julijana in Trema, the site of Đurđička-Rudina near Daruvar, and Pogano St. Peter at the Western Papuk. The paper also discusses the methodology involved in a study of cultural landscape which is defined as history, myth, and art, the last component being the proper field for art historical research, and of an utmost importance for the contemporary planning within historical environments

In the Introduction to his well-researched and informed book, *Slavonic Pagan Sanctuaries* Leszek Pawel Slupecki defines the territory of his study as follows: »The territory relevant to the present discussion will be the land of Western Slavs, and for comparative purposes of Eastern Slavs, while the cult places of Southern Slavs will not be elaborated on. The reasons for the latter are: the influence of numerous divergent assimilated tribes on the religious life of Eastern Slavs, and the lack of reliable archeological data from that region.«¹

Assuming that the second part of the last sentence refers, as well as the rest, to the Eastern Slavs, Slupecki does not even consider dealing with the Southern Slavs, as there is absolutely no archeological data on the material he is interested in. The meaning does not change if we assume that the end of the sentence refers to »us.« In simple words, there is no data on the sanctuaries, and on what one might call »monumental art« among the Southern Slavs, and so also among those who settled on what was to become the historic lands of the Croatian nation. Some of the »Slavic intruders« such as the three-face head form Vaćani near Ždrapanj, have been noticed by scholarship, but not really

studied.² For the rest, we had been left with either romanticist speculation or the »humanist« view that everything the Croats created in the course of their history had its roots in the Mediterranean environment within which they had settled. Slupecki's remark on »the influence of numerous divergent assimilated tribes« applied to the Eastern Slavs, would be even more applicable to the Croatian lands.

Archeologists have, of course, excavated traces of Slavic cultural material all over the present-day Croatia for over a century. The Bijelo Brdo culture is a well-established, centuries long phenomenon dominant among the Slavic settlers in Southern Pannonia.³ However, in order to die, a person has to be born, has to live, eat, sleep, pray. There is no culture without a home and a religious cult place, in addition to the eternal home, the tomb, which is in fact often our almost sole source of information on the life of a group of the people from the past. The lines that follow are intended to carefully demonstrate that there are now conditions allowing us to start making first steps toward reconstructing the pre-Christian Slavic cultural landscape between the Sava and the Drava rivers. I am fully aware that some of those steps may be wrong, but they must be

undertaken if we are to ever fill in the lacuna existing in our cultural history, a lacuna of which we are in fact mostly unaware, or of which we do not want to know anything.

The bearers of the Croatian name were originally a non-Slavic ethnic group located on the northern side of the Caucasus. For centuries they had been moving through the flatlands off the north shores of the Black and Azov seas, to reach the hilly areas to the north of the Carpathians, roughly the territory of today's Galicia. In that process they assumed characteristics of the neighboring Slavs. There they formed a recognizable political unit known as the White Croatia, and from there they, or some of them, migrated south to the lands they mostly inhabit today – Istria, Dalmatia, Croatia, Slavonia, and Bosnia. Or, in terms of ancient geography, large sections of the Roman Histria, Dalmatia, and Pannonia. By ca. 800, the Croats had formed a principality in Dalmatia whereas another Slavic principality in the ancient Pannonia Savia had close ties with the former. During the 9th century, before the Magyar intrusion in the 10th, a string of Slavic principalities extended from the Adriatic to the Carpathians.⁴

Our information on the Croatian migration to the Balkans is scarce and unreliable. It is not even certain if there was one or more migratory waves, and when they occurred, the opinions split between a major immigration having happened around 600 or 800. It is certain that in the 7th and the 8th century there were Slavic immigrants in Dalmatia and Pannonia along with the Avars who ruled the Pannonian plain and its rims from the end of the 6th till the end of the 8th century. It is also certain that as of ca. 800, ruling princes from the Adriatic to the Carpathians bear Slavic names.⁵ The immigrants were not particularly numerous, the percentage of Slavic blood in an average Croat of today is estimated at ca. 25% (this would be true of other southern Slavic people too), 50% would be the native, pre-Slavic element (Celtic, Illyrian, both variously Romanized, Roman, Greek), and the rest the variable »else« (Germanic, Asiatic, etc.).⁶ But the Slavic element was obviously sturdy and tenacious, as the southern Slavs are the only people who settled within the ancient Roman empire on the European side of the Mediterranean who did not assume the language – Latin or Greek-based – of their predecessors. Maintaining that the Croats (and this holds true of any »barbarian« nation that settled within the Empire) came as total savages without any cultural tradition of their own is simply a nonsense. The Croats, as well as other Southern Slavs have retained until today enough cultural material to make it possible to reconstruct in main lines and with a considerable level of certainty the essentials of their religious beliefs and mythology. But even those who are to be credited with major breakthroughs, point out that little can be done in reconstructing art and architecture of the Croats in the new country before their conversion to Christianity, which

must have individually started already in the 7th century to be completed, at least in the coastal areas, in the course of the 9th century. This is the point at which we may start to follow monumental art and architecture among the Croats on the territory of Croatian principalities in Dalmatia and Pannonia.⁷

If the reader suspects that I am to reopen the old battle between the »humanists« and »barbarians«, the reader is right. Only, I do not see the issue as a clash of civilizations but a process of give-and-take gradually growing throughout the entire western world to mature as a developed Romanesque culture by the end of the 11th century. In studying that phenomenon, the »humanists,« and so also those in Croatia, have done an excellent job, while the »barbarian« side was argued poorly if at all. It is instructive to carefully read Josef Strzygowski's book *Starohrvatska umjetnost* (1927) for a great number of very fine insights and ideas, just to realize how the author got lost in combative mysticism once he turned to argument, and how his comparative materials are often poorly chosen and irrelevant.⁸ The old controversy, not as controversy but as an attempt to complement what has been done by one of the sides, needs, in my opinion to be reopened. What follows demonstrates, I hope, that there is enough material to start doing it in the area of Southern Slavic cultures.

Myth in the Landscape

That place names constitute an important evidence in historical studies is nothing new. The areas inhabited by Southern Slavs are full of places bearing old Slavic references – names of gods, of rituals, of old obsolete words long gone from the language, etc. What, however, was done over last two decades, and here the Southern Slavic area is in the forefront of research, is to stop seeing individual place names in isolation, but to relate them within a system. This in itself was made possible by the research of the Russian scholars, Ivanov and Toporov, who, some forty years ago, recognized structural relationships between the elements, and thus enabled researchers to establish the importance of certain points in the landscape. It became possible to recognize the essential elements of the fundamental myth centering on the clash between Perun, the thunder-god, whose place is »up there«, on a mountain, and Veles, the snake, the god of the »down there,« the underworld, who is chased back by Perun's lightnings into the depths of the water whenever he dares attempt to climb the mountain. The interested reader is referred to anthropological literature for details of the myth which is common to many groups of both Indo-European and Non-Indo-European nations, and has even pre-Indo-European roots, and is related to the cycle of the year, the change of seasons, and rituals contained therein. In a nutshell, Perun's son, Juraj/Jarylo is abducted by Veles's agents in the dead of winter, and spends his youth as a



1. Toranj, Triconch, 14th ct. (earlier?) / Toranj, trojist, 14. st. (ranije?)

Figures/Slike 1–27: V. Goss / V. Jukić, 28–29

shepherd of Veles's wolves. He escapes, crosses the river, changes his name to Ivan, and at mid-summer marries his sister, Mara. He is unfaithful to her, and is killed to be born again in the midst of winter. And so on, year in, year out. An additional bone of contention between the Thunderer and the Snake is Perun's wife, Mokoš, who spends half of a year with her husband, and another half with her lover, the god of the underworld. I apologize to my anthropologist colleagues for this drastic oversimplification.⁹

The outstanding Croatian linguist, Radoslav Katičić, has identified several »stages« where the segments of the myth are played out, including place names such as Perun, Perunsko (Perun's place), Vidova gora (St. Vid's Mountain), Gora (Mountain), as opposed to Veles, Volosko (Veles's place), Dol (Hollow). Between them there is often an oak forest, Dubrava, Dubac, where the conflict between Perun and Veles takes place. Building upon Katičić's insights, the Slovene archeologist, Andrej Pleterski, Croatian ethnologist and cultural anthropologist, Vitomir Belaj, and his son, archeologist Jutaj Belaj started searching for patterns within such clusters of place names.¹⁰ The conclusion, by V. Belaj, is as follows: »These are not just points in the landscape any more... Mythically interpreted landscape transforms itself into an ideogram, read by those who within the culture were trained to do so. As ideogram is in fact script, the structured points in the landscape represent a written source about the early Slavic paganism.«¹¹

The pattern that has emerged is that of a sacred triangle the characteristics of which are:

- Of the three points usually in a visual contact with one another, two are occupied by male deities (Perun, Veles; Juraj), and the third by Mokoš.

- One of the angles measures ca. 23 degrees (representing the deflection between the imagined orbits of the Sun at the equinox and the solstice, in Croatia 23 degrees 27 minutes).

- The two longer sides form a ratio of 1 to square root of 2.

- The longest side usually link the two key opponents.

- Perun's point is always on an elevated ground.

- The female point is usually next to water.

- There is usually water between Mokoš and Veles.¹²

Elements of the myth and its representation could be considered pre-Indo-European. In conclusion, Belaj underlines the tremendous, practical, impact of the »myth in the landscape.« »There is something even more important. The incorporation of the myth into the newly occupied territories was, obviously, an essential part of making the new land one's own... This is what us, who live here nowadays, albeit we have been blown together by many a wind of history, makes in a mythical and ritual way its legitimate owners.«¹³

Leaving to the scholars in relevant disciplines to proclaim their judgments, offer amendments, or refine the method, let us ask ourselves: what does it do to art history?

If the view of the »myth in the landscape« is correct and the body of evidence is building up daily, than the Croats, and the other Southern Slavs, brought along to the Roman and Greek world within which they had settled a fairly sophisticated culture. They imprinted some of its essential mythical features on the new land in the process of taking it, they projected on it and thus perpetuated some of their deepest experiences about the self and the world. They remade the picture of their old country. They, simply, stuck to their tradition. It would be foolish to assert that a cultural group capable of doing that, immediately forgot everything about their artistic practices, although they had moved from a land of wood to a land of stone, from a land of wood-building and carving, to a land of building and carving in permanent materials (this is also true of the »wood« country of the Roman Pannonia, where stone and brick were widely used), from a land of a rural organization to a land of highly developed urbanization. Finally, from the world of paganism which they projected on their environment, to a land of Jesus Christ who very soon asked them to become His faithful followers, what they duly did, while retaining some of their pre-Christian lore until today.¹⁴

Knowing how to read the pre-Christian structure (bearing in mind that some of it may coincide with the previous, Roman, and pre-Roman territorial organization) may



2. View of Pogano St. Peter from Toranj / Pogled na Pogano St. Peter s Tornja

be of tremendous help to an art historian and archeologist looking for traces of lost buildings, and trying to reconstruct cultural landscapes that followed upon Christianization. That this is really so illuminates one of Pleterski's examples, when within a »sacred triangle« in Carinthia he identified as one of the points the church of the Savior at Millstatt, recorded as standing over an »ecclesia demonibus addicta,« a pagan Slavic sanctuary.¹⁵ Any later, even recent building standing at a suspected »mythic point« would probably hide traces of earlier, Christian or even pre-Christian buildings. Places dedicated to Mokoš may lead us to many a lost church of the Virgin Mary, St. Mary Magdalene, St. Margaret, St. Helena, or some other powerful female saint. Tradition of recognizing sanctity of a place has continued in Christianity even if the sacred point contained no specifically built sanctuary, but acted just as a »sacred spot« in the landscape.¹⁶ Still today the parish priest of Ivanec holds a solemn open-air mass at the peak of the Ivanščica mountain, an important Perun's place, at Mid-Summer, although there is no church or any traces of one there. As the triangle may encompass the territory of one early Slavic »župa,« county (the same word in Croatian is used to designate the smallest unit of church organization, the parish, one ruled by a »župan«, the other by »župnik«), we may have here a useful tool in identifying the early political and religious centers with the accompanying architecture.¹⁷

The projecting of one's world view on one's environment eloquently testifies that the Croats were ready to use their own ways in making the new world their own. They implanted their tradition, formulas of their collective memory on their environment. The dichotomy Perun – Veles, up and down, peak and hollow, which was fully supported by the landscape of their Indo-European country of origin, was not forgotten in the centuries of living in the Euxinian flatlands, and flourished up once again as they moved to the trans-Carpathian, and ultimately to the Alpine and Dinarid setting.

As witnessed even by contemporary and para-contemporary expression in decorative arts in, e.g., wood or cloth, the Croats have maintained a tradition of a decorative language generally seen as »early medieval.« This vast area of research for which there is enormous material in the so-called »folk art« has been barely touched upon by art historians. Here, again, the »humanists« have done a good job identifying the centers of production of stone sculpture within the former Roman Dalmatia, and sketching out the development linking the late Antiquity with the fully developed interlace sculpture of ca. 800. However, even within the area of stone sculpture, there are pieces which show a spirit quite different from that of classical clarity which is borne even by decorative pieces of the local Pre-Romanesque, and the »dark« 7th and 8th centuries which precede it, and which,

provisionally, I like to call Pre-pre-Romanesque. Side by side with pieces showing expert stone-cutting technique, orderliness of general composition, and clarity of detail, there are pieces which show either poor technique (artists who tried to switch from wood to stone), or, even if the technique is impeccable, methods of carving close to that practiced when carving wood, dense decorative patterns again typical of wood carving, or motifs which could be seen as more typical of wood sculpture. Even when important discoveries occurred, as the one of the seven wooden beams within the church of St. Donat in Zadar (mid-8th ct.) showing motifs and method of carving analogous to contemporary stone reliefs at the same location, they were mostly disregarded by scholarship as they did not fit with the picture of an overwhelming role of Antiquity in the development of the art of the immigrant Slavs. Of course, as wisely pointed out by Brozzi and Tagliaferi, and masterfully applied to the Eastern Adriatic situation by Nikola Jakšić, insisting on one single source of interlace sculpture misses the point. Some decorative motifs being ubiquitous, both »humanist« and »barbarian,« it is very difficult to claim that some ornament stitched onto a piece of cloth a few months ago definitively derives from one or the other source.¹⁸ Yet, this is the work which we must not let undone. In Croatia, it would involve a massive search through and reassessment of the material of both interlace sculpture in stone and of the »folk art« in other materials. I am not even close to being ready to guess at the outcome. I doubt anybody is.

I have voiced my unease (adding also the area of architecture) in two articles dedicated to a new evaluation of the role of Josef Strzygowski in the *Early Croatian Art* (neither criticism nor apology!) wherein I dealt with such issues as predominance of right angles and straight lines in many Pre-Romanesque buildings in Croatia, the will-to-vault, and the use of rounded buttresses¹⁹. Some of those features, in particular the first one, have recently attracted some intelligent scholarly interest elsewhere, in terms of possible relationship to Pre-Romanesque architecture in wood, and to secular building.²⁰ My argument looked for support in similar areas, in particular in the research of Andre Mohorovičić, who tried to demonstrate by using secular architecture of the Kvarner archipelago that the Croats, who immigrated the northern Adriatic Islands around 1000, brought along the knowledge of their domestic architecture from the old country (the two stools at the center of the short sides of the building supporting a gable roof on top of a native, Illyrian, construction in dry wall technique). Although the dating and the means of the transfer are difficult to precisely establish, the homes Mohorovičić studied indeed display the two stool system known in northeastern Europe, and the best, if not only way to account for its appearance in the Mediterranean, is through the Slavic



3. Pogano St. Peter, the »Inscribed Rock« / Pogano St. Peter, »Pisani kamen«



4. Pogano St. Peter, the rounded structure / Pogano St. Peter, kružna zgrada



5. Pogano St. Peter / Pogano St. Peter



6. Pogano St. Peter from Bijela / Pogano St. Peter iz Bijele

immigrants who brought along one of the basic formulae of their traditional type of architecture.²¹

Today we know that the Slavs on their travels and migrations literally carried their gods along. For a discussion of memory and the ways of keeping it alive, the most important argument is a passage from the Arab writer Ibn Fadlan, who saw in 922 a group of Russian merchants among the Finns (or Bulgars?) on the Volga worshipping a number of small idols placed in a circle, in the middle of which stood a bigger one, addressed as »My Lord.« Unfortunately, we do not know whether those »Russians« were Slavs or Varangians, but it really does not make too much difference. What is tremendously interesting is that the polyconchal/rounded sanctuary was portable. One had to just unpack the »idols,« draw a circle, place them in the right position, and adore them!²² This is certainly not the only formula which may have, in such a way, traveled for thousands of miles. It is linked to the highest sanctum, the chief executive God of the Slavic, and related pantheons. As such it undoubtedly migrated with the people.

Cosma also tells us that the Bohemians brought their gods along when they settled in the new country, and placed them at the sanctuary at the holy mountain of Rip. The Germanic people had the same custom. When Thorolf sailed out to Iceland he took along a plank from the sanctuary fence bearing the head of Thor, and when he neared Iceland



8. Pogano St. Peter from Sirač / Pogano St. Peter iz Sirača

7. View from Pogano St. Peter / Pogled s Pogano St. Peter





11. Pogano St. Peter from the North / Pogano St. Peter sa sjevera



9. Pogano St. Peter from Petrovina / St. Peter iz Petrovine

10. Pogano St. Peter from Podborje / St. Peter iz Podborja



he threw the Thor into the waves and built his home at the place where Thor landed. The three-headed deity from Vaćani in Dalmatia is a clear indication that the old gods and their forms were not forgotten. However, to say the least, they have been in deep hiding. We will suggest several ways of coaxing them out of their centennial lairs.²³

Place Names as Building Blocks of a Mythical/Cultural Landscape

The Belaj method has served to sensitize us to the importance of place names in the context of the physical features of the landscape the spots of which they describe. A brief look at maps of the area between the Sava and the Drava, even as large as 1:100,000 reveals a wealth of place names that can be easily associated with the mythical elements Belaj has brought to our attention, a large number of places called Dubrava – Oak Forest (Dubovac, Dub, Dubovnik, Hrašće, Rašće, Hrastik, Hrastovac, Hrastovica, Staro rašće, Rastik, Lug, Lužan, Lužanjak), Bukovje – Beech Forest (Bukevje, Bukovica), Gaj – Grove (Lug), Bor – Pine (Borje, Borovac), Lesje – Hazelnut (Leskovac, Lešće), Orah – Walnut (Orehovica, Orašje, Orešje), Gora – Hill, Mountain (Brdo, and so also Staro Brdo, Golo Brdo, Bijelo Brdo, Dobri vrh, all associated with Perun, so also Perunika, Pogani vrh, Pogana gradina, Svetinjski breg), Dol – Valley (Dolina, Jama, and other names associated with Veles. e.g. Zmaje-

vac, Veles, Glamočine, Glamača, Zvernjak, Zverinjak, Zvjerinjak, Zvjerkuša, Zveričke, Zmijačina, Zminjak, Zmijno, Vražjak, Vražnjača, Vražje brdo, Vražja jama, Vražje oko, Vražje vršje, Vražji do, Vražje blato, Vragića brijeg, Zvirišće, Crna mlaka, Crna lokva, Crna jama, Poganovo polje, Ižišće. Plazur), endless names beginning with Vuk (Vučjak, Farkaševac, Farkaš međa, Vuka, Vučica); Ivan (Ivanovo polje, Ivanovo selo, Ivanova jama, Ivanjski krst, Ivana greda, Ivan dvori, Ivanja reka, Ivanovo, Ivanec, Ivanščica; it is of course difficult to decide whether the name Ivan refers to the pagan Juraj/Ivan, to St. John, or to the Order of St. John who held vast estates in Croatia), Mara (Marino selo, Marijanci, Marjančaci, Marin dvor; as above, it is not always clear whether we are dealing with Ivan's sister, or Our Lady), Juraj (Đurđ, Đurđička, Đurđic, Juranščina; St. George seems to have consistently taken over places associated with Juraj/Jarilo), Triglav (Treglava, Trojeglava, Trorogovac), altars and sacrifices (Trebljevina, Trebljevine, Konjsko, Konjščina, Kutina).²⁴ It may take quite a while to collect those names, and then much more to relate them into meaningful patterns. What we are presenting here is just a very limited sample. Yet, even within its limits, one can not miss certain incredibly interesting clusters.

In Baranja, which is mostly water and marshland, we find the following sequence: in eastern Baranja going from the North to the South we have Zmajevac, Zminjak, Đavolja greda, Vražja leđa, Vološka (i.e., Veles's) dolina. Across the Drava there is the famous shrine of Our Lady at Aljmaš – thus a place which may have once been Mokoš's residence, and a bit to the East Bijelo Brdo, a system of heights with scattered hamlets above the river which, as it is well-known, gave name to the Bjelo Brdo culture of the early medieval Pannonia.²⁵ Here we may have a Belaj-type cluster involving two historically important spots for art historians and archeologists, not a piece of information to be dismissed lightly.

The Daruvar area in Western Slavonia is extremely rich in indicative place names. A heights above Daruvar itself is called Stari Slavik (see also Slaviškova gušča near Ferdinandovac, and Veliki Slavir, Slavirić, Slavir, and Slavirski vrbić near Bošnjaci). We have identified half a dozen sacred water springs not far from the city (Svetinja, Sveta voda, Vranjevina Svetinja, Stara Svetinja, Sveti Bunar; they also appear elsewhere but with less density; most likely they are sites of Mokoš's sanctuaries), the best example being the Svetinja near Kreštelovac where the water gushes out from underneath a chapel of SS. Cosma and Damian, a rather recent building but certainly at a spot which had been sanctified a long time even before it was taken over by the Christian Holy Healers, Cosmas and Damian; as these were patron saints of Emperor Justinian having cured him of a dangerous disease, they may indicate, together with a number of other Slavonian sanctuaries of the Saints (as well as those



13. Poganovo St. Peter from Đurđička / Poganovo St. Peter iz Đurđičke



12. Đurđička from the valley of Zvjerkuša / Đurđička iz doline Zvjerkuše

14. Ivanščica and Kalnik from Đurđička / Ivanščica i Kalnik iz Đurđičke



of St. Andrew or St. Dimitri), a link with the reconquest activities in Pannonia during the Gothic wars.²⁶ This may help trace another lost layer of Slavonian cultural landscape, of the Early Byzantine period. The villages of Treglava and Trojeglava stand to the North and the South of Daruvar respectively. So far nothing of interest has been found there, but a careful study of the micro area is indicated. The reference to the three-headed pagan Slavic god may also bring to one's mind an extremely interesting and relatively well-preserved building, a unique trichonchal chapel standing in the middle of a deserted cemetery on a high plateau between the villages of Toranj (immigrant Orthodox) and Strižičevac (Strigevazzo – immigrant Italians). It is a tall building consisting of three broad, contiguous conchs, without a square entrance bay which regularly makes its appearance in trichonchal buildings, and so also at the Croatian Coastland (fig. 1).²⁷ The entrance is placed at the south between what one may call the side conchs, whereas the central conch, the altar area, is directed toward the north. Its high quality mature Gothic detail of door and window frames, tracery, and interior support elements (preserved up to the springing of the vaults) points to some powerful and cultured patron, probably a member of the Pukur family, who rose to the peak of their career in the 14th century. Here is an architectural form which irresistibly recalls the three-face sculptures of Pagan Slavic gods. The adjacent fields have provided no surface archeological material, which may mean that the building was not associated with a settlement. Did it arise on the site of an early Slavic sanctuary? As a truly significant piece of Croatian medieval art the Toranj triconch should be an object of a thorough architectural and archeological study, and it deserves a scholarly monograph.

The northern conch of the Toranj directs our eyes toward another crucial spot of the Western Slavonian landscape, the westernmost tip of the Papuk mountain where, in a wide saddle between two peaks, Petrov Vrh (614 m) and Pogani Vrh (639m), there is the site of Pogano St. Peter. The site (»Crkvište«) (fig. 2) is a sizeable medieval village (parish is mentioned in the late 14th century), with ample traces of stone structures, residential and possibly fortifications. Its main feature, retained in local memory (although the area was inhabited by orthodox immigrants ever since the 16th century!) is a rounded area, a circular mound too small to be a chapel or a meaningful fortification tower, and sunk into the ground. It appears to have stone foundations. We may have even identified the locally notorious »rock with scriptures« which nobody could read (fig. 3-5). We will return to this phenomenon later. The site, of course, needs a thorough investigation.²⁸

Below the site is the area called Dubrave, then Glamočina, an extremely interesting name to be commented upon later, and Ivanova jama (Ivan's hollow). To the east there

is a lower peak called Crna mlaka (Black Puddle, 506 m). Together, we believe we have a very nice example of the »Belaj landscape«. Whereas we will leave it to better versed to figure out exact relationships, let us offer at least a few thoughts.

Petrov vrh (St. Peter's Peak), the lower of the two prominent heights (614 m), the last of the peaks as the Papuk collapses toward the Daruvar plain, was probably Veles's domain, to be tamed in post-pagan times by the Prince of the Apostles (fig. 2). The undulating configuration of the descending ridges indeed gives an impression of a snake crawling up, and then down, toward the Pogano St. Peter gap, to attempt to disturb the divine peace of Perun the Thunderer, sitting on top of the higher, Pogani vrh (Pagan Peak, 639 m), a lovely ideal pyramid (Did Veles have also another line of attack, from the Crna mlaka, may be decided by somebody more expert in those matters). However, when Perun noticed Veles's crawling he intervened, and hit him in the area of Dubrave, as he usually does. Ivan's hollow introduces another moment of the myth, Juraj has already escaped from Veles, crossed the water and became Ivan, to marry his sister Mara. What we are missing here is Mokoš, but south of the central scene we have a hill with the ruins of one of the most important, biggest, and most beautiful Benedictine monasteries in Croatia, St. Margaret in Bijela, a powerful female Saint, in whom one may see a successor to Mokoš. The problem is the position of the bed of the main water course, the little river of Bijela, which is to the South of St. Margaret and not, as it should be, to the North, but there are other, smaller water courses which might be taken into consideration. Bijela (fig. 6), which also urgently need exploration (parts still stood less than 100 years ago!) is certainly linked to the monumental mythical landscape, in front of the wonderful backdrop of the Western Papuk.²⁹

Another striking feature could be experienced if we descend some 100 meters down from the woody Pogano St. Peter. The view, through a widening funnel, toward the South, South-West, is breathtaking, and reaches deep into Western Bosnia, i.e., Croatian medieval county of Vodica. (fig. 7) Equally fantastic is the way in which the complex of Pogano St. Peter is visible from almost every important old site in Western Slavonia (figs. 6, 8-11). As we step out toward the South, through the widening funnel following the Bijela, the small bump within the pass is clearly visible from St. Margaret in Bijela, from the castle of Sirač, next to which a church of Our Lady used to stand. Further South there is Badljevinina with remains of the church of the Holy Cross, then the site of the Petrovina Castle at Gornji Sredani with the mausoleum of the already mentioned Pukur family, and the hill of the Pavlovina Castle at Gornja Obrijež, another Pukur enterprise. It looms from the Northeast above another important site of Croatian past, the



15. Trema, high plateau / Trema, visoravan

16. Trema Osuđevo

17. Trema Pintići, St. Juliana / Trema Pintići, Sv. Julijana



18. Vražje Oko and Đurđić / Vražje oko i Đurđić



hill of the monastery of St. Ladislav de Podborje, a Troy-like hill, which also needs urgent excavations; from the site of Crkvište on a beam east of Gornji Daruvar, from a hill overlooking the site of the oppidum Dimičkovina on the same beam but west of Gornji Daruvar; from the old cemetery near Daruvarski Brestovac marking the area of the lost churches of St. George and St. Mary at the old and well documented fief of Tolyne, from Opkopi north of Daruvar (St. Maria prope fluvium Saploncha), Končanica (Zidina, possibly an old sanctuary to be commented on later), from Donja Rašenica (old cemetery, »Crkveno polje,« possibly and old sanctuary?).³⁰

As we step farther away we see the stage of the grand confrontation from Pakrac (one of the key medieval sites in Croatia, the headquarters of the Hospitallers), Lipik (an old thermal site), from Tomašica (old church of St. Thomas on a hillfort), from the already mentioned Toranj.

The image of the celestial battlefield can be, of course, also seen from the North. As we turn around the western end of the Papuk, we see it from Bastaji, Bastajski Brođani (below Stupčanica, a surprisingly well-preserved Romanesque keep, half way up the Papuk side), from the beam of Rekići, the site of the oppidum Mihajlovica, and the churches of St. Michael and St. Maria de Saploncha.³¹

Of course, Pogano St. Peter is visible from many other places in Western Slavonia. We have listed just a few. As a traveler moved along the important old roads, from Zdenci to Garešnica, from Garešnica to Pakrac, from Pakrac to Daruvar, etc. he was accompanied by the vista of the stage of the eternal contest. This is not to claim that the western end of the Papuk determined the picture of territorial organization of western Slavonia. Human settlements in their coming into being are foremostly directed by a good balance between security and access to means of subsistence and to commercial enterprise³². Many of the places listed, as well as the entire landscape were old when the Slavs moved into the area. What, however, is also true, is that there is practically no key location which is not in eye-to-eye contact with Pogano St. Peter, or can connect through a close intermediary (e.g., Stari Slavic in Daruvar via St. Ladislav de Podborje). The mastermind artist of the mythical landscape has realized the potential, and staged his drama in front of a full house. It may have been locally reinforced by a sanctuary at the place where Pogano St. Peter now stands, to become an outpost of the new faith as it took over both the dramatic core of the landscape, as well as the audiences and auditoriums surrounding it. Western Slavonian landscape is in fact very rugged. The hills are not very high, the Bilogora heights do not exceed 400 meters, the western Papuk and Ravna gora just somewhat more. But the slopes are steep, valleys and ridges alternate at a high speed and a few hundred meters to the left or right may mean a view of a wide area or just a sight of woody

slopes.

In this exciting relief a special attention deserves a steep naked hill to the North of Podborski Batinjani, Rudina Đurđička (fig.12), the center of the old parish of St. Juraj – George – on the Ilova. It is not especially tall (260) but it rises steeply above the fields along the Zvjerkuška (Beasty) creek (a clear reference to Veles). To the east, on the lower portions of the ridge are Kućišta, a reference to an old village, i.e., the residential section of the parish which probably stretched also North along the Zvjerkuška up to its meeting spot with the Ilova.³³

The plateau at the top of the hill is small, it could just accommodate a church, or a pagan sanctuary, and although there are higher ridges both to the North and South it commands an unbelievable view toward the West featuring all the key landscape landmarks of Northwestern Croatia, the Medvednica, the Ivanščica, the Kalnik (fig.14), the chain of Bilogora hills running toward the Northwest, and, to the Southwest the gentle curve of the Moslavačka gora. Toward the east, towers the Petrov vrh (fig. 13). In its ravine between the ridges on both sides, Đurđička appears as a relay point between two systems of commanding landscape elements of the entire area between the two rivers, Northwestern Croatia, the gentle, hilly area surrounded by the just mentioned mountain sentinels, and Central Slavonia with its ring of the Požega mountains. And with this we have reached what we have announced in the title – the story of two St. Georges.

Đurđić and Đurđička

We just visited Đurđička. Now we will move some 100 kilometers to the West, to the Kalnik piedmont and its capital, the important medieval city of Križevci. East of Križevci, across the Glogovnica river, in »Moslavina« (the locals call »Moslavina« everything to the East of the Glogovnica, although the modern term is much narrower), there is a small high plateau of Trema (fig.14-26). It measures some 25 to 30 square kilometers, and it represents a system of ridges and creek valleys running mostly North-South with a few elevations barely over 200 meters, and a rather steep flanks facing the visitor from the outer world.

The name »Trema« is extremely interesting as »trem« signifies a big log-built building (a blokbau), but it also may mean a building of certain distinction, or a tower. It is a kin to such words as »hram« (temple), and »kreml« (representative building). In itself, this is an indication of august old age. The word has been retained in modern Croatian as »trijem« (porch).³⁴

There is more than one Trema within the plateau area (fig. 15) – Trema Dvorišće and Dvori (Courtyard and Court), Trema-Grubiševo, Trema-Budilovci, Trema-Osuđevo (fig. 16). To the South-East of Dvori there are Pintići and the church of St. Juliana at the end of a ridge and on a hi-



19. Staro Brdo from Đurđić / Staro brdo iz Đurđica

llfort (figs. 17, 25-27). Below, runs the Tremski potok and right across is the ridge and the forest of Kosturač (Place of Skeletons, probably a prehistoric cemetery). To the west of St. Julijana and across another little creek, there is the hill of Gradišće (Hillfort). To the North West of Dvorišće is an area of two ridges with a puddle and creek in between known as Vražje oko (Devil's Eye). There must have been an old settlement on the ridge closer to Dvorišće as witnessed by a wealth of pottery from prehistoric times throughout the mature Middle Ages (fig.18). The main contemporary thoroughfares running North-South and East-West intersect at Grubiševo (fig. 15). To the right (East) the road climbs to Gornje Selo (Upper Village). From this road running to St. Petar Čvrstec a dirt road branches off to the left and climbs the Staro Brdo (237, the highest spot in Trema, fig. 19). At the eastern end of the Staro Brdo there are traces of an old settlement (fig. 20), foundations of stone buildings including a circular one of undetermined function.³⁵ From the Staro Brdo one can see the Bilogora chain running toward the east, the Moslavačka gora, and St. Petar Čvrstec on its hillfort (fig. 21-22). To the North of the Staro Brdo is the village of Trema Osudevo (fig.16), within a double mountain saddle. It was protected by a wooden fortification which stood on a gentle hill along the road to the Northeast of the hamlet. Another road running through Grubiševo and Budilovci passes through Tremski Prkos (a village of Vallachian immigrants; Prkos/Perkos=Pyrgos?) and continues down to the Glogovnica to Trema's only »link« with

20. Staro Brdo, old village / Staro brdo, ostaci starog naselja
22. View from Staro Brdo / Pogled sa Starog brda



21. Staro Brdo, old village and view of St. Peter Čvrstec / Staro brdo, staro naselje i pogled na Sv. Petar Čvrstec

the big world, the place called Tremske livade (Trema's Meadows).

Moving from Dvorište along the road toward the South, we observe on the right (West) a place called Lončarine (Place of Pots), possibly a prehistoric site, whereas to the left, in the fields Zoran Homen has discovered traces of the prehistoric Lasinja Culture. A creek issuing forth from Vražje oko runs through and goes underground at Lončarine.

The next ridge takes us through the Novi and Stari (New and Old) Đurđić to another Trema's highlight, Đurđić with the church of St. Juraj (George) (figs. 23-24). The church rises dramatically on a hillfort. It was mentioned in the 13th century (1277), but today's church is due to a Baroque rebuilding. The powerful tower may be much earlier, even Romanesque according to a recent suggestion (fig. 29).³⁶ The tower was used as fortification during the time of Turkish raids in the 16th and 17th centuries.

To the North of the church there is a large cemetery. The 360 degree view is incredible. One can clearly see the Medvednica, Ivanščica, and Kalnik, then the Bilogora chains, and the Moslavačka gora. Locally, one can see the Staro brdo to Northeast (fig. 19) (as the peak of the Staro Brdo is densely covered with wood, one cannot see St. Juraj, although we believe one could), the hills and the hollow of Vražje oko and the ridge running toward St. Juliana from Dvori/Dvorište. Surface finds are extremely rare at the cemetery, but much more frequent around the church. It may

mean that the settlement was where it is today, whereas the original sanctuary would have been where the cemetery is today. One can probably see the church of St. Julijana from the tower, but as the shutters at the top story windows are nailed shut, it was impossible to make sure. St. Juraj and Đurđić command a view of all relevant high spots in Northwestern Croatia. Exactly as Đurđička at the eastern end, Đurđić is a relay point between the important landmarks. There is a good chance that with good binoculars one can see Đurđić from Đurđička, linking thus two St. Georges, and the entire area of Northwestern Croatia.

The access to Trema is well controlled. From the West the road winds through a narrow gap at Kalvarija (a modern day chapel) and then up to St. Juraj, permanently controlled from the hillfort at the top of the hill (fig. 23). From the South, both the road to Đurđić, and the one to Dvorište start very steeply to even out only at a safe distance from the plain. The northern access was protected by Trema Osuđevo (fig. 16), and the eastern by the old village at the eastern end of the Staro Brdo. To reach Trema from Čvrstec (fig. 21), one has to steeply climb the pass at Gornje Selo.

The high plateau of Trema is surrounded by another series of interesting place names. There is Gračina (Old Fort) to the South in a direct visual communication with St. George, and then a series of dendronymes: starting from the west in a wide circle Borje, Topolje, Bukovje, Lješće, Brestaki, Brestavica, Grabrovac, Raščani, and again Buk in the



23. View of St. George in Đurđić from Kalvarija / Pogled na Sv. Jurja u Đurđiću s Kalvarije

North. Four of them refer to trees sacred to the Slavs – Bor, Bukva, Lešnjak, and Hrast (Pine, Beech, Hazelnut, Oak).³⁷

Within Trema, a number of place names and landscape feature relate to the explanations offered by Belaj. The Staro Brdo, the highest peak, might have been Perun's seat. St. George – Juraj, may have easily replaced Veles at Đurđić. Vražje oko is another clear reference to the underground God, Devil the Snake. Finally, the church of St. Juliana, a saint known for her victory over the devil, may have replaced Mokoš at the hillfort at Pintići.³⁸ Granted, it is not too close to water as the major local water course, the Tremški potok, runs in the valley at the east foot of the hill, and there is just a rivulet which often dries up between the ridges of Pintići and Dvorište. But besides St. Juraj at Đurđić, St. Julijana is the only preserved monument of older architecture in Trema.

The church (fig. 25-27, 29) has been admirably described by Katarina Horvat Levaj in the monograph on Križevci and, on the basis of what was visible, correctly dated to 16th (maybe even 17th) ct. as a rare example of a building in rural Renaissance style.³⁹ It is an elongated rectangle with a polygonal sanctuary awkwardly added to it (fig. 29). When checked with a compass, it turned out that the sanctuary was in fact correctly oriented toward the east, while the nave was off the East-West axis by ca. 20 degrees. As it seems logical that the sanctuary thus corrected and old mistake, one might speculate that the nave or its foundations, were older.

And indeed an unauthorized repair has revealed a number of stone fragments within the walls which seem to be mostly brick, as well as round headed windows on the southern (marked by lines in the thick gray coat of plaster), and a round headed entrance on the northern flank (fig. 26-27).⁴⁰ That opening strikingly recalls similar entranceways in Slovene rural churches believed to be Carolingian. St. Juliana is an unusual, even unique, dedication for Croatia, and one is tempted to see her appearance in relation to what her presumed predecessor at the spot had to do with the denizen of Vražje oko and the original owner of the Đurđić hill.

Currently the church is covered by a thick layer of plaster so even measuring details of the opening, in particular of that interesting newly found northern entrance is a futile endeavor. Here and there, pieces of stone peek through the plaster (fig. 26), but nothing could be concluded before another, expert restoration, which is, fortunately, pending. The proportions of the nave in the existing plan are very close to 1: square root of 3, which is again a frequent ratio in Slovene rural churches believed to be from the Pre-Romanesque.⁴¹

If one is allowed to speculate on the basis of what we have, one might suggest that there are indications that the nave of St. Juliana is considerably older than the sanctuary, that, maybe, it succeeded some pre-Christian building as a devil defeating female Saint succeeded Mokoš at the moment of Carolingian occupation of Pannonia at the end of the 8th



24. Đurđić, St. George / Đurđić, Sv. Juraj

century. Possibly, another old Christian sanctuary was raised over the shrine of the God of Darkness and dedicated to Juraj-George.

Even if this is a mere speculation, one can see how the suggestions made by ethnologists have helped us at least pin-point some spots where investigations should be carried out. The results are not guaranteed, but it is worth trying. After the fascinating discoveries at Lobar, sky is the limit. Or, at least, let us hope so.

At the cost of sounding redundant I would like to veer back to the geographic position of Trema and its landmarks. That major mountains were holy places has been amply demonstrated by Belaj, and the peak of Ivanščica, which looms large in his research, rises from the western horizon right across of Đurđić.⁴² To the left there is Medvednica, another major mountain next to the major population center of North Western Croatia, its future capital and ecclesiastic center – Zagreb. It is highly unlikely that the undulating skyline of the mountain's mighty back did not inspire the imagination of our forefathers. Indeed, the nice, rounded peak, not the tallest, but prominent and an excellent Belvedere (direct contact with the Samobor Mountains, especially the Plešivica, the Bald Mountain, the Mountain of Witches), and the Žumberak at the border with the Holy Roman Empire, commanding view of the Sava river as it bends around the corner of the Medvednica through a gap between the latter and the Samobor chains, of the vast plain to the east and the South, of the mountains surro-

unding it, the Lička Plešivica, Klek, even Velebit, the Bosnain mountains, and the entire mountain and hill system in Northwestern Croatia, (Bilogora, Moslavačka gora, the Požega Mountains and, yes, Pogano St. Peter and Đurđička and Đurđić) which we have already described, that hill is called the Veliki Plazur (the big crawler, or crawling place), probably attacked by the Great Crawler from the Mali Plazur, the hill featuring one of the finest medieval castles in Croatia, Medvedgrad.⁴³

Whereas the macro-landscape does not change one must be aware of the fact that on the micro level many place names, as well as the features they describe, may disappear or change their position. Even very large scale maps could be notoriously imprecise in that respect. Thus there are objective factors impeding the Belaj type analysis and measuring. Yet, what our ethnologists and linguists have offered us so far, when matched with even very rudimentary attempts to link their intuitions with the real, material spots in the landscape, seems to indicate that among our ancestors there were great artists of both word and eye who could convincingly and with great insight and imagination endow the landscape they encountered with spirituality and sense, making it truly a human and cultural landscape, a work of art in which the spiritual and visual meet in a grand, cosmic symphony. Making that landscape real by establishing some of its spots, even though the works of human hands they used to carry may be gone forever, makes it very real even for the contemporary »visitor,« more



25. Trema, St. Juliana / Trema, Sv. Julijana

so as it is the basis of many phenomena that happened in that landscape as the great drama of history moved on. I am convinced that if we approach that old landscape with patience, understanding and love, we may ourselves hear the stories told centuries ago, and the old bards could lead us to the materials witnesses of those times which are today still largely absent.⁴⁴

Who are we, where do we come from, what did we bring along?

In his contribution to the *Rasprave i vrela* volume of the *Hrvati i Karolinzi* Exhibition Catalogue Mladen Ančić has masterfully demonstrated how we can trace some of the groups of Slavic immigrants from their native land into the new country. Obodriti from Polabia show up in Southeastern Pannonia, not far from them there is a northern Plabian Hlivno, to reappear in western Herzegovina. At the same spot we find Delminians who founded Duvno. Bužani in Lika came from the Bug river valley, Vislani from around the Visla settled in Southern Dalmatia as Viševiči/Višljevići. One may add the in the Banovina, around Volinja, there were immigrants from Volinia, or maybe from the great Baltic Slavic city of Wolin. Glupoglavi from Silesia settled at Lupoglav in Istria and to the East of Zagreb. Moravče near Zagreb, Morović in Sirmium, and the Moravas in Serbia indicate immigration from Moravia. Finally, the people that

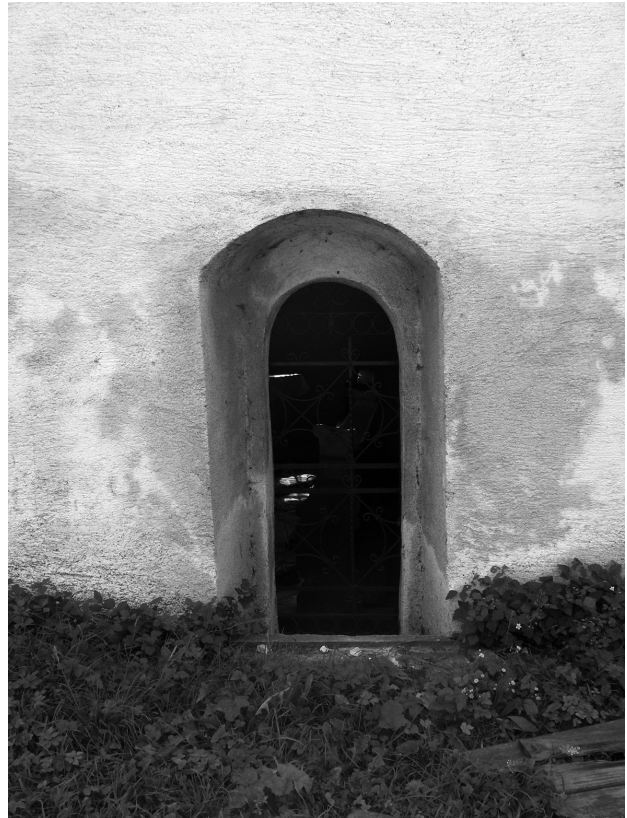
finally blended all those groups together and gave them their name, Hrvati, came from White Croatia, in the area of Bohemia and Southern Poland. Odra near Zagreb is probably a memory of the northern Odra. Delminians had a sacred lake called Glomač, and so next to Duvno in western Herzegovina there is Glamoč.⁴⁵ The immigrants came from the wide arc spreading from western Polabia to Ruthenia. The variety of cultural goods brought along would include almost everything available among the western and some of what was prominent among the eastern Slavs. We have seen that the Slavs as well as Germans literally carried their gods on their shoulders. Projecting the myth on the landscape is one of the aspects of that itinerant heritage.

Given the wealth of locations our ancestors came from, we can expect a wealth of forms in the earliest artistic production of Southern Slavs. Even in terms of the core myth, we should be alert to a possibility of variations, and should not be surprised if the expected pattern refuses to work in certain situations.

According to some estimates, a contemporary Croat is 50% pre-Slavic native (Roman, Romanized Illyrian, Celtic, etc.), 25% Slav, and 25% other (Germanic, Asiatic, etc.).⁴⁶ The Croats have encountered the remains of an old, well-entrenched although moribund civilization, as well as a layer of Germanic and Asiatic (Hun, Avar) forerunners



26. Trema, St. Juliana, detail of the wall / Trema, Sv. Julijana, detalj zida



27. Trema, St. Juliana, northern door / Trema, Sv. Julijana, sjeverni ulaz

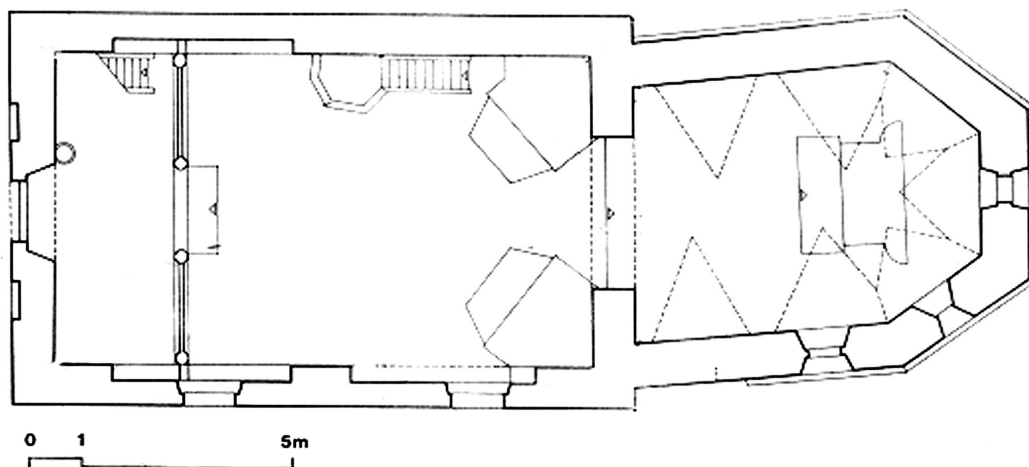
in the area. With Christianization their conversion to the Mediterranean ways of life was relatively fast and thorough. Yet, it is the Croats, Slovenes, and Montenegrins who among the Slavs reached the shore of the Mediterranean sea and, as opposed to all other immigrants, retained their languages! Maintaining that they brought along no culture or art of their own, and that they just immersed themselves uncritically and without reservations into the ways of the Old World (which had definitely seen better days) would be simply unrealistic. Coming back again to the Troglav from Vaćani, one may freely assume that the Croats and associated Slavic ethnic groups brought along many a standard Slavic form. It is up to us to discover them – with the help of what we know about them in the »old country.« Or, by studying the earliest Croatian art in the new country, art in durable material, in stone, and trying to identify, which is definitely more difficult and riskier, the forms the Slavs had brought along and then reconciled them with those forms in the new homeland they found attractive enough to adopt. I have a fairly clear idea of some such forms, but I would like to reserve a discussion for a time when there is more material evidence, which is not just a reference to the lands inhabited by the Croats, but to the entire old Slavdom.⁴⁷

Landscape as History, Myth, and Art

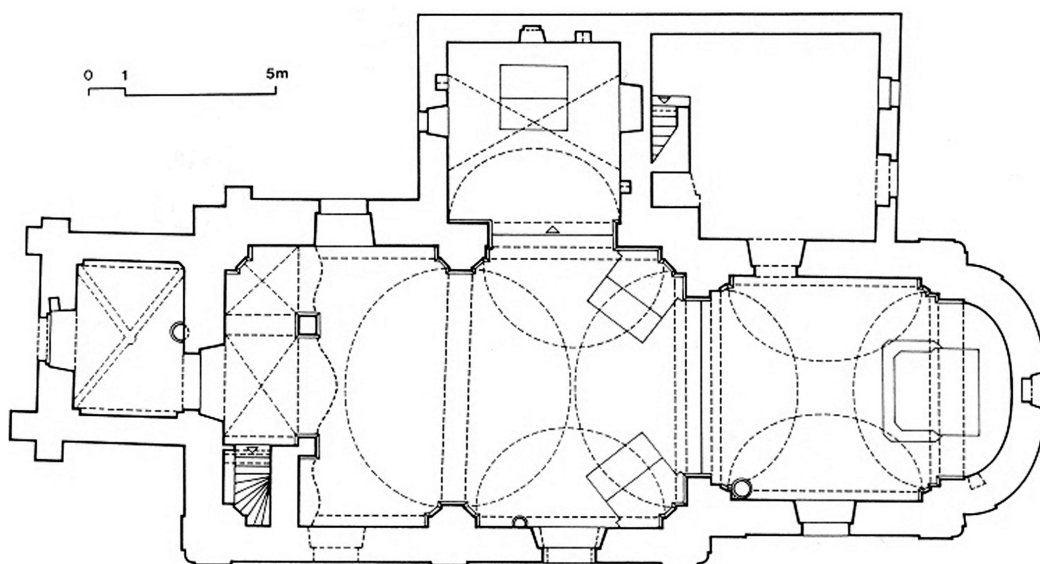
All human activity takes place within a natural landscape. By their sheer appearance the human beings leave their imprint on the natural landscape turning it into a cultural landscape. The sum total of those interventions is the history. Landscape is a huge book of records where many an activity and event have been recorded. Reading the landscape is the most crucial of all historical methods. Written documents and artifacts are a welcome addition. But a historian who does not know that there is a 2000 meters mountain between two villages seemingly just one kilometer apart, will never get his research right.

We are well aware of how deeply landscape features influence groups and individuals. Stereotypes may be stereotypes, but there are people of the mountains and people of the plains, of forests and prairies, of coast and hinterland, of cities and villages. The more enterprising seek roads, rivers, market places. Those who treasure safety more live on hills, in woods, in marshes. Usually there is some kind of balance among the factors involved. May we say that landscape is not just history but also a historic predicament.⁴⁸

By their intervention, people keep changing their environments. A landscape is never finished. Even its more stable component, the nature, is subject to modifications. Rivers change their bed, climate changes may impact the



28. Trema, St. Juliana, ground plan / Trema, Sv. Julijana, tlocrt (Institute of Art History with the kind permission of the owner / Institut za povijest umjetnosti s ljubaznom dozvolom vlasnika)



29. Đurđić, St. George, ground plan / Đurđić, Sv. Juraj, tlocrt (Institute of Art History with the kind permission of the owner / Institut za povijest umjetnosti s ljubaznom dozvolom vlasnika)

plant cover. There is erosion, fires, earthquakes. The cultural landscape is even more change-prone. Every human being leaving the imprint of his foot on a forest trail has brought about modification of the cultural landscape. It would be futile, even counterproductive, to try to preserve a cultural landscape »as it is,« but in the process of changing it one should strive to make it better, more meaningful, more appealing. Here is where a study of the history of the landscape – of total ecology, both natural and cultural – finds its main reason of existence. It seeks to discover, define and explain the core values of a landscape which should be respected when making new interventions. Building a humongous block like hotel, garishly painted, and glittering with metal in a little Adriatic cove is a station on a way to

hell. One may even conclude that some landscape features are more appropriate to one period as opposed to another, that there are »Carolingian,« »Romanesque,« »Baroque,« etc., landscapes, and that a modern intervention should think in specific ways when applying new forms.

The imprint of human beings on the landscape is both material and immaterial, spiritual and physical, sacred and profane. The material sphere (if it can be truly separated) deals with the economics of life, the other with the spirit. People have been giving names to landscape features since times immemorial. They likened them to objects (Stol – Table, Zvijezda – Star, Odžak – Chimney), plants (Bor – Pine, Hrašće – Oak Grove, Jagodnjak – Strawberry Hill), animals (Konj – Horse, Medvednica – Bear Mountain, Vuka – Wolf

River), some feature (Blato – Mud, Kališće – Mud Place, Kalnik – Mud Mountain), human features (Prst – Finger, Glava – Head, Ustilonja – Mouth of the Lonja), names of inhabitants of this world and of the one above (Ivanščica – Ivan's Mountain, Petrov vrh – Peter's Peak, Perun – Perun's Peak, Marijanci – St. Mary's Village). Any reader can compose endless lists. Within 500 meters of the place where I was born and where I now live, there is Zvijezda (a star like city square), Medveščak (street and creek of the bears), Ribnjak (The Pond), Kaptol (Chapter's Hill), Ksaver (St. Francis Xavier's Place), Šalata (Lettuce Place), Vočarska (Fruitgrowers' Street), Nova Ves (New Village), Mlinarska (Mill Street), Laščina (Latins' Hill). There is also Zmajevac (Dragon's Trail) used by Veles when he crawled out from the marshy area of today's Zvijezda and the Crkveni potok (Church Creek, the older name of the Medveščak) toward the plateau of the Bijenik (the place of hitting) where Perun would have met him, hit him with his lightning, and chased him back to the watery underworld where he belongs.

The last example takes us one step further, into the process whereby a person of higher training or talent endows the landscape with a story. This mythical component is exactly what Katičić and Belaj have isolated in the Croatian landscape, recognizing it as a huge book of ideograms, a primordial script telling the essential mythic story responsible for the functioning of the Universe. Through his performance, the myth-teller has converted the landscape into a work of art, not just a sacred text, but also a work of visual art. In fact, the art of cultural landscape with its both immaterial, spiritual, verbal on one hand, and material, visible, and formal component on the other, is a very complex *gesamtkunstwerk*, the visual art form aspect being what here interests us in the first place.

Landscape is truly an enormous *objet trouvé* and the artist of cultural landscape selects and relates its features into meaningful patterns in terms of visual forms. Such a selection may involve more or fewer elements of human intervention, of found (recognized) and added (manufactured) features. The ratio may vary from period to period, place to place, culture to culture. The artistic effect would be heavily due to creative combination and meaningful relating of natural and artificial forms. The latter would play an important role in increasing a landscape's expressive power, in the process of which certain hierarchies would have to be honored. The place of the mighty is always on the top, or, at a place of security and control in general (in the middle, at the intersection, etc.). The landscape has to be able to tell its story, therefore the tower would be fatter and taller, the walls more powerful and endowed with bulk and relief, than necessary. The light, the color, the texture would be used to enhance the vital role of a certain spot (and its resident), or, on the contrary, to blend with taste and confident humility within the environment if this be

the mind set of the patron. Think of the potentials to change as to the tower of the terrestrial lord is joined the tower of the cathedral, of the city hall, of the guilds, of the cannons... Cultural landscape is not a work of a single artist, but a constantly growing tissue shaped by generations. In that it is again a piece of a collective memory, of identity, of history.

A question could be raised: Could we indeed isolate and bring forth elements of landscapes of bygone times, given all the layers and accretions that accumulated throughout history. But in fact, the experience tells us that the basics of a certain landscape have been fairly stable. Here one builds mostly in wood, there is stone; here near water, there far from it; here color is dominant, there the blending. So to speak, each individual landscape has its basic laws. As already stated, we should respect them in order to retain or even add more harmony, beauty and meaningfulness to the environment. Or, we may choose not to do so, as we mostly do it today.

By rediscovering patterns and values of old cultural ecologies, we are again reinforcing studies of identity, we are learning who we are, have been, and could become. History of cultural landscapes is a very practical discipline. For this country, it should be particularly so. Croatia will never export computers, military jets, or space technology, but it has and will export memories, impressions, experiences. By preserving our cultural landscape, or, one should really say, our total ecology, we are preserving our tradition, identity, ourselves, as well as one of the key sources of income in the times to come. We should strive to enter the EU as a protected natural and cultural reserve. Croatia's total ecology is still relatively well-preserved. Some stretches, such as the Kaštelansko polje, or the Zagreb Prigorje, our two most important and best cultural landscapes have been ruined beyond repair. But much is still intact. Croatia's total ecology is truly specific. I would describe it as predominantly lyrical, with short, moderately dramatic, but, paradoxically expressive sequences. Our mountains are not the Alps, but even small hills can be surprisingly rugged and »expressive;« our flatlands are never away from a sight of a hill or a mountain, they do not have the vast expanse of Texas or the Russian plains, yet they wonderfully integrate themselves with their hilly rims. Our coast does not possess the terrifying drama of Norwegian cliffs and fjords, yet those relatively short stretches of ruggedness join hands in a masterful way with the green of the pine, the blue of the sky and the sea, and the gold of the Sun. For thousands of years the people of the area have carefully listened to this enchanting spirit of the land. Rediscovering their dreams and visions as written into the landscape, as demonstrated by the linguists and ethnologists, gives us confidence that we may, slowly and carefully, rediscover meaningful patterns also in the sphere of visual creativity. The story

of two St. Georges, tying together, as it would seem, both time and space in a large section of our homeland, should be seen as a still vague but indicative beacon of things that are yet to come.

NOTES

1 The research for this paper has been done within the project of the MZOŠ, 099-1300623-0946, Romanesque Art between the Sava and the Drava Rivers and European Culture. The author would like to thank the following: Vitomir Belaj, Juraj Belaj, Neven Budak, Milan Pelc, Vjekoslav Jukić, Mladen Medar, Goran Jakovljević, Zoran Tokić, Milan Pezelj, Krešimir Karlo, Zoran Homen, Lana Okroša Rožić i Marija Rogina. – L. P. SLUPECKI, *Slavonic Pagan Sanctuaries*, Warsaw, 1994, p. 10.

2 E.g., KRUNO PRIJATELJ, *Skulpture s ljudskim likom iz starohrvatskog doba*, »Starohrvatska prosvjeta«, III/3, 1954, 65–92, especially p. 68.

3 See, e. g., numerous recent studies by ŽELJKO TOMIČIĆ, especially *Istraživanje kronologije ranosrednjovjekovnog groblja kod Mahovljana kraj Banja Luke*, »Prilozi Instituta za arheologiju u Zagrebu«, IX, 2000, 25–66.

4 A useful overview is provided by MLADEN ANČIĆ, *U osvjet novog doba – Karolinško carstvo i njegov istočni obod*, Hrvati i Karolinzi, vol. Rasprave i vrela, Split, 2000, 70–103. The complexity of the problem is fully demonstrated by H. LOWMIANSKI, *Hrvatska pradomovina*, Rijeka, 2004.

5 Ibid., 77–84.

6 Oral information by Professor Vitomir Belaj.

7 MLADEN ANČIĆ (see note 4), pp. 97–103.

8 JOSEF STRZYGOWSKI, *Starohrvatska umjetnost*, Zagreb, 1927. For a recent reopening of the issue please VLADIMIR GOSS, *Josef Strzygowski and Early Medieval Art in Croatia*, »Acta historiae artium«, LXVII, 2006, 335–343, and *What Josef Strzygowski did not Know, in Immagine e Ideologia – Studi in onore di Arturo Carlo Quintavalle*, Parma, 2007, 583–593.

9 For bibliography of the relevant works by V. V. Ivanov and V. N. Toporov, please see L. P. SLUPECKI (see note 1), p. 248; also VITOMIR BELAJ, *Hod kroz godinu*, second edition, Zagreb, 2007, pp. 469–470. Belaj's remarkable book has served as the basis for my brief summary.

10 For relevant works by R. Katičić, please see VITOMIR BELAJ (see note 9), pp. 471–472, for Pleterski p. 478, for J. Belaj p. 460.

11 VITOMIR BELAJ (see note 9), p. 423.

12 VITOMIR BELAJ (see note 9), pp. 423–424.

13 VITOMIR BELAJ (see note 9), p. 453–454.

14 VITOMIR BELAJ (see note 9), p. 165.

15 VITOMIR BELAJ (see note 9), p. 425.

16 L. P. SLUPECKI (see note 1), chapters 8, 9; VITOMIR BELAJ (see note 9), pp. 374–384.

17 VITOMIR BELAJ (see note 9), pp. 426–433.

18 VLADIMIR GOSS (see note 8) with concrete examples and additional literature. M. BROZZI and A. TAGLIAFERI, *Arte langobarda – la scultura figurativa su metallo*, Cividale, 1961, p.39ff, and *Arte Longobarda – la scultura figurativa su marmo e*

su metallo, Cividale, 1961, p. 18ff; ANTE MILOŠEVIĆ, *Scultura ornamentale del VII e VIII secolo nei Balcani occidentali*, »Hortus artium medievalium«, IX, 2003, 357–382; NIKOLA JAKŠIĆ, *Klesarstvo u službi evangelizacije, Hrvati i Karolinzi*, vol. Rasprave i vrela, pp. 192–213; PAVUŠA VEŽIĆ, *Crkva Sv. Trojstva (Sv. Donata) u Zadru*, Zagreb, 1985, p. 9.

19 Please see note 8.

20 C. B. McCLENDON, *The Origins of Medieval Architecture*, New Haven, 2005, pp. 40–41, 43–46, 60, 65, 72–83.

21 ANDRE MOHOROVIČIĆ, *Analiza razvoja naselja na otočnoj skupini Cres – Lošinj*, Zagreb, 1955, pp. 389–394.

22 VITOMIR BELAJ (see note 9), p. 84; L. P. SLUPECKI (see note 1), pp. 121–122. The »God in a Bag« principle was known also to the Germans. When Thorolf went to Iceland, he took several planks of Thor's sanctuary along, including the one with the God's image. He threw them into the waves when near the shore, and settled where the Thor had landed, naming the cape Thorsnes. – L. P. SLUPECKI (see note 1), p. 17.

23 Two place near Daruvar, the villages of Treglava and Trojglava seem to point to old sanctuaries of three-headed Gods or Goddesses.. In particular, we emphasize the pronunciation of »Treglava«, coming close to »Trigla«, a goddess mentioned by Slupecki in Polabia (p. 203). Daruvar area is especially rich in Early Slavic memories, as we are going to see as we proceed.

24 Being the name of a well-known Croatian town »Kutina« deserves a comment. Slupecki (p. 13), points out that the word in Czech and Bulgarian means »a hut« – »a building with four corners, a house that could function as a place of meetings and a seat of deities«.

25 See note 3.

26 VLADIMIR P. GOSS, *Oriental Presence and Medieval Art in Croatian Pannonia, Medioevo mediterraneo: l'Occidente, Bisanzio e l'Islam*, Parma, 2007., pp. 447–455, especially p. 447.

27 E. g., the Early Romanesque St. Nicholas by Nin and St. Krševan near Glavotok.

28 We explored the site on February 27, 2008. Full credit for the location of the site and its introduction into the scholarly world belongs to the indefatigable explorer of Western Slavonia, Mr. Berislav Scheybal, and we were led by his M. A. thesis from the Central European University in Budapest. As, however, Mr. Scheybal prohibits copying of his thesis, which is a pity as his fine work needs publicity, we cannot quote relevant sections here or hereafter.

29 As a fine summary to historical vicissitudes of the monastery, and of its disappearance we recommend a study by Stanko Andrić; STANKO ANDRIĆ, 'Povijest propadanja' – *novovjekovna sudbina ugasle Opatije svete Margarete u Bijeloj*, »Peristil«, XLVI-II, 2005, 65–93, with extensive bibliography in the footnotes and visual documentation.

30 Those sites were explored on the 27th and 28th of February, 2008, and they also had been dealt with in the M. A. thesis mentioned in the note 28.

31 See the previous note. All those sites were visited or revisited in the spring of 2008.

32 VLADIMIR P. GOSS, *The Church and the Palace in the Southern Section of Pannonia between the 9th and the 13th century, Medioevo: la Chiesa e il Palazzo*, Parma, 2007, pp. 136–141, especially p. 136.

33 See again note 28.

34 VITOMIR BELAJ (see note 9), p. 138. Trema has attracted little scholarly interest. It figures as an entry in ŽARKO DOMLJAN, ed., *Križevci – grad i okolica*, Zagreb, 1993, pp. 384–387, and there is a recent article by R. PAVLEŠ, *Četiri posjeda u srednjovjekovnom kalničkom kotaru uz potok Glogovnicu*, »Cris«, VIII, 2006, 5–13.

35 Just in brackets, there are several such rounded structures in the Kalnik area, at Igrišče, high up on the mountain's slope, in front of the ruin of the church of St. Martin within a sizeable medieval settlement, and at Mihalj, on the eastern side of the mountain's southern slope along with an elongated building, both next to a large medieval hillfort. Of course, only a systematic exploration could determine their form and function, as they may simply be remains of the huts for making coal or for mixing lime. Still, one notes analogies with the circular building at Pogano St. Peter. Trema was visited several times in the winter and spring of 2008.

36 ŽARKO DOMLJAN (see note 34), p. 302–306. ZVONIMIR BALOG, *Crkve kvadratnog svetišta u sjevernoj Hrvatskoj*, »Peristil«, L, 2007, pp. 41–61, p. 45.

37 L. P. SLUPECKI (see note 1)), pp. 159–162.

38 On St. Juliana, a conflation of two saints, one near eastern, one southern Italian, and especially revered in the Netherlands Catholic Encyclopedia, <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/08555a.htm>. St. Juliana is known for her conflict with the devil, and is represented leading a devil on a chain. Churches dedicated to St. Juliana in Croatia are extremely rare.

39 ŽARKO DOMLJAN (see note 34), pp. 384–385.

40 I. STOPAR, *Karolinška arhitektura na Slovenskem*, Ljubljana, 1987, fig. 13, 14, pl. V.

41 I. STOPAR (see note 40), pp. 70–71.

42 VITOMIR BELAJ (see note 9), pp. 426–433. L. P. SLUPECKI (see note 1), pp. 182–185 (Chapter on Sacred Mountains). There are Glomačine near Pogano St. Peter, Lamač near Bratislava. Also, L. P. SLUPECKI (see note), p. 61.

43 I thank Professor Belaj for our conversation on Medvedgrad, Bear's Castle, and the bear as another incarnation of Veles..

44 I am of course indebted to Paolo Verzone and his beautiful remark about »old stones touched with love.«

45 MLADEN ANČIĆ (see note 4), pp. 75–76, expanded by our own observations. Also, P. M. BARFORD, *The Early Slavs*, Ithaca, N.Y., 2001, p. 130.

46 See note 6.

47 Many forms of the earliest Christian art among the Croats reveal inspiration from local pre-Slavic models. There is no doubt about it. But there are also specificities which have been either disregarded, or treated in terms of science fiction. Neither approach is valid. As the new faith was absorbed gradually, and never quite completely, creating thus a religious syncretism that has been present until today, so the art has also revealed some characteristics one does not find elsewhere, or does find within somewhat similar conditions. A recent visit to most among important Great Moravian sites has convinced me that the »art syncretism issue« is definitely worth exploring. But this is a topic for another study.

48 See again my work cited in note 32, loc. cit.

Sažetak

Vladimir P. Goss

Dva Sveta Jurja i najraniji slavenski kulturni pejzaž između Save i Drave

Zahvaljujući istraživanjima Ivanova i Toporova koji su rekonstruirali temelje ranoslavenske mitologije, te radu hrvatskih znanstvenika kao što su lingvist Radoslav Katičić, etnolog Vitomir Belaj i arheolog Juraj Belaj, danas možemo ozbiljno razmatrati utjecaj ranoslavenske mitologije na najraniji slavenski kulturni pejzaž na području Hrvatske. Navedena istraživanja pokazala su da su Slaveni po doseljenu projicirali svoj temeljni mit, sukob između Peruna Gromovnika i Velesa Zmije na pejzaž nove domovine. »Sveta mjesta« su odabrana koristeći sustav trokuta koji povezuju Peruna, Velesa i Perunovu ženu, Mokoš. Projiciranjem kolektivnog pamćenja na pejzaž, doseljenici su učinili osvojenju zemlju zaista svojom. Prema riječima V. Belaja, to nisu samo točke u pejzažu. Mitski interpretirani pejzaž se mijenja u ideogram koji tumače oni koji su u to najbolje upućeni. Kako je ideogram ustvari pismo, strukturirane točke u pejzažu predstavljaju pisane izvore o ranoslavenskom poganstvu. Elementi mita i njegovog prikazivanja mogu se smatrati pre-Indoeuropskim.

Međurječje Save i Drave vrvi toponimima koji se mogu uključiti u mitološki kompleks koji smo upravo opisali. Sami toponimi, bez otkrivanja njihova položaja i uloge u pejzažu, ne znače mnogo za povijest umjetnosti. No, ako naučimo čitati strukture i povezivati ih s građom i prirodne i kulturne ekologije (imajući pri tome na umu da neke strukture postoje iz pred-slavenskih vremena), mogu biti korisni povjesničaru umjetnosti i arheologu pri lociranju nestalih položaja i građevina, te pri rekonstrukciji najranijih kršćanskih pejzaža. Kao dva primjera navodi se visoravan Treme (»Trem« = značajna zgrada, toranj, zgrada od balvana) te njenih ključnih kršćanskih spomenika crkava sv. Jurja u Đurđicu i sv. Julijane u Pintićima, te lokaliteti Đurđička-Rudina i Pogano St. Peter u zapadnoj Slavoniji, sa zaključkom da su dva Sv. Jurja (Đurđic i Đurđička) predstavljala ključne »relejne točke« u osmišljavanju kulturnog makropejzaža sjeverozapadne Hrvatske, što se preslikalo i na kršćansku teritorijalnu organizaciju. U smislu pojedinačnih spomenika svaka naslučena »sveta točka« može skrivati tragove starih kršćanskih ili čak pretkršćanskih spomenika. Svetost mjesta se prenosi čak kad nema tragova ljudske građevinske intervencije, pa tako i danas na Ivanje slavi se misa na vrhu Ivanščice, a to pokazuju i tradicije niza »Svetih voda« kao što je »Svetinja« kod Kreštelovca kraj Daruvara na mjestu crkve svetih Kuzme i Damjana.

Ako su pretpostavke o mitu u pejzažu točne, onda su Hrvati (i drugi Južni Slaveni) donijeli u rimski i grčki svijet u kojem su se smjestili prilično sofisticiranu kulturu. Utisnuli su bitne mitološke elemente u novu domovinu i tako rekonstruirali sliku stare. Za slavenske doseljenike na području Hrvatske znamo po njihovim imenima (Obodriti, Delminjani, Glamočani, Volinjani, Glupoglavi, Bužani, Višljevići) da su došli iz prostranog kruga od Polabla do Rutenije, čemu valja dodati one koji su toj etničkoj masi dali ime, Hrvate, koji dolaze s dosta dobro definiranog područja iza Karpata. Riječ je dakle o vrlo širokom spektru prenešenih sjećanja, što istovremeno obogaćuje potencijalnu sliku, ali je i znakovito usložuje. Znamo da su i Slaveni i Germani na svojim putovanjima i selidbama nosili likove svojih bogova, dakle postoji i vid izravnog materijalnog podržavanja tradicije, što nam pokazuje i nalaz troglavog boga iz Vačana, te imena mjesta kao Treglava ili Trojeglava u okolici Daruvara.

Pejaž je povijest, mit i umjetničko djelo. On je golemi objekt *trouv e* na kojem  ovjek ostavlja tragove svoje djelatnosti. Oni zajedno zna e temeljne povijesne izvore, kojima su pisani dokumenti i artefakti dobrodošao dodatak. No bez  itanja povijesti iz pejzaža nema prave povijesti. Umjetnik kulturnog pejzaža odabire pojedine elemente i povezuju i se s umjetnoš u rije i stvara sveobuhvatni *gesamtkunstwerk* u kojem se me usobno pro imlju prirodni i ljudskom rukom stvoreni elementi. Njihov odnos se zasigurno mijenjao od mjesta do mjesta, od vremena do vremena, od kulture do kulture. Umjetni ki se efekt posti e kreativnim kombinacijama i suvislim odnosima prirodnih i rukom stvorenih sadr aja. Kulturni pejza  nije djelo jednog umjetnika ve  naraštaja. Kao takav odraz je kolektivnog sjećanja, identiteta, dakle opet povijesti. Kulturni pejza  nije nikad završen, stalno se mijenja, no pri promjenama treba paziti da ga se uljepša, a ne upropasti. Studij kulturnog pejzaža vodi tako da bude otkriven *genius loci*, do razumijevanja me upro imanja zemlje i ljudi koji je nastavaju. Kao takav temelj je svakom kreativnom zahvatu u ljudski okoliš i neizbje no oru e pri zaštitu i dodavanju novih vrijednosti zatečenim pejza ima.